



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun. By WILLIAM M. MEIGS.
Two volumes. (New York: The Neale Publishing Company.
1917. Pp. 456, 478.)

Mr. Meigs's book may be accepted as the long-desired complete and impartial life of the Great Nullifier. Evidently it rests on an industrious examination of the available sources and is constructed, on the whole, with an admirable sense of the relations of the various phases of Calhoun's career to the whole story of his long and important life. The first volume carries him nearly to the end of the nullification controversy, and most of the second is devoted to that part of his life in which Calhoun appeared as the dominating leader of the South in asserting its claims against the North. The second volume is, perhaps, the more interesting of the two; for it shows its subject engaged in a cause dear to his heart, fighting his way into undisputed mental leadership, and uttering views about which he cannot be supposed to have taken grounds which did not correspond to his convictions.

Although the author does not defend all of Calhoun's positions and deeds, he never criticizes them with acrimony, and he insists that we shall remember that the current of the time was running strongly against South Carolina. For example, we are reminded that Calhoun did not shift his position in politics in 1825 merely because he wished to become president, but because he had come to feel that the interests of the South were jeopardized by the spirit of the majority in Congress and that it was his duty to defend his own section. This conviction was not formed in the spirit of knight-errantry, but on the ground that a politician must stand by his people, who trust him. On such a basis the course of Calhoun is as creditable as that of any of his opponents. The reader of the book must lay it down with the feeling that it deals with a sad but splendid man, who fought admirably against adverse fate and who deserves our sympathy and esteem.

The breadth of treatment, which is generally noticeable throughout the book, is illustrated in the presentation of the results of nullification (II, pp. 36-39). For South Carolina it was a triumph in that it reduced the tariff to a low level at a time when the tide had been running strongly in the other direction; but the victory was won by the merest scratch, and when it was won the state was at the end of her wits for a means of resisting the blows which Jackson seemed about to inflict. For the cause of union it was also a triumph, but the radical toning down of the Force Bill by Congress, immediately after it

was passed, took away some of the renown of victory. For Calhoun it was a misfortune; because after that his reputation always carried the stain of disloyalty to the Union, which was a bar to his future political hopes. The moral effects were important; for while the South had been forced to fix her eyes more steadily than ever before on her sectional interest, the country at large had seen the nullifiers suspended for a moment over a dreadful chasm and every one knew that they were lucky to get their feet on *terra firma* again. Their experience showed the South, and Calhoun himself, the weakness of the theory that a state could resist the execution of federal law and remain in the Union; and in all the later years of the great controversy that theory was not again brought into service. Special commendation must be given, also, to the discussion of the economic causes behind nullification (II, pp. 40-45).

The reviewer has encountered some proof errors, and he cannot but regret that the publishers did not use better paper and more attractive type in manufacturing a book which deserves such steady use by students of American history. The summaries at the beginning of the chapters are especially unimpressive in type and spacing.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

Smith College.

The Readjuster Movement in Virginia. By CHARLES C. PEARSON, Ph.D. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1917. Pp. viii, 191.)

Dr. Pearson has made an informing study of a transitional period in Virginia history extending roughly from the close of the Civil War to the election of Grover Cleveland as President of the United States. The central fact in the Readjuster Movement was the means of paying the public debt of \$38,000,000, as reported by the governor in his message of December 4, 1865. The state's assets in railroads and canals had been virtually destroyed by the war, the taxing power of the people reduced fully two-thirds; and one-third of the territory had been actually wrested away in the formation of the new state of West Virginia. Under these cruel circumstances, the readjuster principle was thrust forward—"that the state's creditors should be compelled to share in the general loss occasioned by war and reconstruction." The leaders were mainly self-made men of the middle class, marked by energy and political shrewdness. Perhaps the two most